1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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793 female one may not marry or even have a lover. When a woman is chosen as *Ten'dan' poka*, she will leave husband and children and go to Zoka to enter on her work, and the cows which her husband paid for her will not be claimed, as his wife has been chosen by the land, and if her husband claimed back the cows, he would die. I myself left home just a year ago.' The Chief, who was present when this woman was speaking, said, 'We caught her and put the calabash and stalk in her hand, without telling her; she could not refuse; it was the word of our *Yaba* (ancestor). Her predecessor was my own wife; she was taken from me.'

She continued: 'Female *Ten'dan'* are chosen from one family; my clan is *loa* (a red squirrel?)'.

This woman's small girl attendant told me she would be the *Ten'dan's* servant until she reached puberty and married, when another young girl would replace her.

793 I again asked the female *Ten'dan'*, if *Ten'dan'* owned the land. She
423 said, 'No, not really, the grove does, *Ten'dan'* are only children of the *tengwan* (grove)'.

Some Further Notes regarding Ten'dan' and the Land:

'In olden times, the *Ten'dan'* gave the Chief land to farm as well as lesser people. He, the *Ten'dan'*, would point out the place to make the farm and call the name of his grove, saying, "So-and-so wants to eat, help him". The *Ten'dan'* will turn over the first sod, and at that place, *kyili* seed will be planted, the leaves of which are called *bito*. When this farm bears its first crops, and thereafter each year, a basket of corn, a pot of beer, and some fowls are given to the *Ten'dan'* by its owner. As soon as land is totally abandoned, it reverts to the *Ten'dan'*, but as long as it is being cultivated, he cannot take it back, unless its owner offends. The *Ten'dan'* may give land to a stranger provided he
[326] lives in the *teya*. Before a smith used iron from the land, he would make a knife, an axe, and a nail called *pin kpa*,[1] and give them to the *Ten'dan'* before doing any work for others.'

The Godan: 'I am called *Ten'dan'*, there is one called *Godan* who wanders and kills meat. His work is to take people to the bush to hunt. When a beast is killed, he receives a foreleg; the remainder goes to the head of the section. The *Godan* "owns" the men whom he takes to the bush to hunt; he does not own any land. If one of my own section

[1] Used by leather workers.

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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kills a beast, I receive some, not otherwise. I own the land in the bush, not so the *Godan*.

'Things found on the land, except beads, belong to the *Ten'dan*', also lost fowls, iron, worked or unworked, goats, sheep, and cows. A horse or a donkey goes to the Chief; these are not permitted to enter my kraal. If any one found these things and kept them, his home would break. The finder of beads, guinea-fowls, a cloth, cowries, may keep them if not claimed, but if the cowries[1] were many, he would give some to the Chief and to the *Ten'dan*'. A lost child belongs to the Chief; it is forbidden for a *Ten'dan*' to take such a one, she may not eat anything with hairs (i.e. a person).'

Tattooing: A *Ten'dan*' must not have tattoo marks, but markings called *Taavelem* do not matter.[2]

Harvest Festivals: 'Beans, ground-nuts, and new crops must first be given to the groves, after which every one may eat. Only naked people may go to the groves. A *Ten'dan*' has to be so careful not to eat new crops before the groves have done so, that, when the corn is ripening, his water-pots have to be covered over to prevent any grain from being blown into them.' He concluded the above by stating: 'Our ancestors did not come from any other place. *Na Wen* (God) created our *Yaba* and allowed him to be on the land. No stranger can possess *ten-kur* (land stones).[3] Formerly we called our land Zug, and there were only thorns upon it. Then the Dagbama (Dagomba) came and ate the Chieftainship and called the land Gohe-nam or Nangoot. Our mother's children are the *Ten'dan*' of Pals (near Zuarono). They went there from this place. Our taboo is red clay; we do not use it for plastering the walls of compounds.'[4]

A rapid survey of other matters, fully described in previous chapters, revealed everywhere a uniform similarity in customs and beliefs with those of their neighbours. A more intensive investigation will no doubt reveal differences in detail here and there, but the task of recording these I must leave to others and pass on to examine the next tribe, the Kusase.

[1] See p. 378.
[2] This prohibition was, I was informed, only local.
[3] See p. 256.
[4] See footnote 6, p. 244.

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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Tenedan' will tell the land that if she permits the sowing, and good crops result, that he will give her a beast and beer. After a good harvest, each of the Elders will catch a fowl and take grain for beer, and the *Tenedan'* will take the beast and go to the *tengban* (grove) where the vow (lit. mouth) was made, and make the sacrifice. If a *Tenedan'* is very old, his son may do this for him. The sacrifice is made on a stone at the foot of a tree. This stone will receive it and give to the land. The land is not a human spirit.' The *Tenedan'* will say:

'"We asked you to help us to eat. Now we are eating, we cannot refuse you yours, receive this beer." We pour out the beer and then kill the fowls and goats. Sometimes the land will ask for a cow (through the soothsayer). The *Tenedan'* will then ask every one to give him some grain, and when he has enough, he will exchange this for a cow. Every one in the *teya* will eat some of the meat. The *Tenedan'* will take one hind leg, the head, and the skin. Women and children too will have some. Any one who hates the *Tenedan'* and eats of this sacrifice will die. The *Tenedan'* and the *Tey-kpeem* (Elders of the *teya*) always discussed town affairs together.'

Succession to the Tenedan'ship: 'When a *Tenedan'* dies, his next eldest brother succeeds. If he has no brothers, then, his eldest "son"; that means the eldest of all the "sons" among the *Tenedan'* and his brothers. In some towns, a man who has a brother may not become a *Tenedan'*, but it is not so among the Kusase. A *Tenedan'* had power to drive a man out of the *teya*. A wise man would listen and go, but a fool would remain until he lost everything.'

Tenedan' and the Land: 'A *Tenedan'* is in charge of all uncultivated land. Any one who wishes to cultivate there will tell the *Tenedan'*, saying, "*Seare* (uncultivated ground) (Nankane, *seka*) lies there and I wish to make a farm upon it". The *Tenedan'* will send a boy to look at the place and show the man the boundaries. The man will turn up the soil a few times in the presence of this messenger. After the farmer has worked on this land for some time, he will brew beer, and take a fowl and give to the *Tenedan'* to sacrifice to the land. This he will do in his own compound, giving it to his father's *bagr* (shrine) to give to the land, saying: "Father, receive this fowl and beer; somebody has seen some uncultivated land, which he wishes to farm; he has brought this fowl and beer; receive it and give to your father to give to the land that the farmer may get crops". The remainder of the beer is for those who are helping him to clear the land and the *Tenedan'* will also send his son to pour some on the land and say:

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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Kusase

THE KUSASE

'"Land, receive your beer and drink; a person wishes to farm. Permit the workers to rise up from their labours without headache and belly-ache."

'When the farmer gets each new crop, he gives the *Tenedan'* a large bundle of grain, and from time to time a large pot of beer and a guinea-fowl, that is, if his belly has been washed (if he is happy). If this farmer later leaves the land even for many years, it still belongs to him, and when he dies, that place is for his "sons", but if he gives it up entirely, and some one else wants it, the *Tenedan'* will first direct him to that man or to his family. The *Tenedan'* still "owns" the land which he has given away, because anything that is found on it still belongs to him. He, the farmer, owns the *kobo* (the right to cultivate) but he could never sell it. In olden days *dawa dawa* trees belonged to the *Tenedan'*, even if growing on a man's land, and no one dared to pick the fruit, even in the uncultivated bush, but when the tree was growing on a man's own *saman* (farm near his compound), the *Tenedan'* would share the fruit with him. Shea butter trees in the bush belonged to all the town; those on family farms to that family, those on a privately owned farm to the owner of that plot. The reason that *dawa dawa* trees belonged to the *Tenedan'* is because these trees grow up owing to some one having eaten the seed and passed it in his excrement.'

Lost Animals: 'Lost fowls, sheep, goats, cows, belonged to the *Tenedan'*. I here asked about treasure trove in the form of cowries. Expressions of horror were manifested at the idea of the finder taking these. 'No one would touch such a find; the finder would cover them up and not even let any one know; they belong to the land and the spirits.'

'In the case of beads, a *baa* (soothsayer) will probably tell the finder that they are "*Wen*" (God) and he will keep them. Any one found on the land, who had no master, belonged to the *Tenedan'*. He was a *Ten-pin* (a gift from the land). Dead elephants or antelope if it were not known who had killed them, belonged to the *Tenedan'*; if known who had wounded them, the *Tenedan'* only received a hind leg.'

Go-dan: 'We used to have a *go-dan*; he was one who had once lost a relative in the bush and when the seasonal hunting parties go hunting he is in charge of them, and receives a foreleg of each animal killed. He is really running after his lost brother, and the others are helping him. The *go-dan* would give the *Tenedan'* two forelegs, after the hunting, and some fowls before the hunting begins. The *go-dan* does

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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A small number of Tongo people have gone yet farther afield in search of a livelihood: to Biuŋ and other peripheral settlements, to Mampurugu, and, increasingly in recent years, to the tempting Eldorado of Ashanti and the Colony. Thus, not all the members of the Tongo branch of Mosuor biis and its accessory lineages live at Tongo at any given time; but within its confines live only members of the sub-clan and their families; and for all members of the sub-clan, wherever they may be living, Tongo is their home, the centre of gravity of their social existence.

We have said before that no two Tale settlements are exactly alike. Allowing for specific differences, however, the local and social circumscription of Tongo may be taken as typical. The general rule is that boundaries exist in terms of social cleavages co-ordinated with residential distribution, and not of geographical or topographical features; and this rule applies both to the spatial relations of contiguous settlements and to those of parts of a settlement with one another. Community and locality cannot be dissociated. The maxim, 'A *tey* is not a *tey* if there are no people in it', always cited to explain the strong sense of ethical obligation felt by the natives to accept a suitable immigrant in any community, if land is available, sums this up. The boundary disputes that have become common between chiefs and headmen in recent years turn on the contradiction between the conception of a defined territorial boundary fostered by British rule, and the type of social boundary inherent in the native social structure.

A revealing case occurred among the Hill Talis. The elaborate interlocking of the Hill Talis clans with one another through clanship ties, ritual collaboration, local cohesion, and political loyalties, and the diffused solidarity to which this gives rise, impel them to common or mutually supporting action in crises. Yet even among them, social boundaries divide clan from clan and maximal lineage from maximal lineage both spatially and structurally, and come into operation in certain situations. But these social boundaries are far less firm than those between Tongo and its neighbours. Groups of contiguous clans cohere to nearly the same extent as a genealogically organic community like Tongo. Tɛnzugu, in particular, and Yinduuri-Zandoya, form two such close-knit sub-communities within the wider community of all the Hill Talis.

Since 1936 a boundary dispute has embittered the relations of the Golibdaana and the Yinduurna'aba, who are recognized by the Administration as headman of Tɛnzugu and headman of Yinduur-Zandoya respectively. It is an insoluble dispute, bound to remain a chronic source of friction as long as these two headmen exercise the territorially defined powers entrusted to them by the Administration.

The dispute concerns a segment of Zandoya living on the slope of the Hills between Yinduuri and Tɛnzugu. It was at length, after many evasions on the Golibdaana's part, brought before the Chief of Tongo for arbitration. But this ended, inevitably, in a deadlock. The Golibdaana, crafty and overweening, as only a man of his extravagant wealth and unyielding temper could be, when he knew himself to be in the wrong, took his stand on a criterion often used by Administrative officers in such disputes. The group in question, he claimed, was living on land that

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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621 578 423 comes under the ritual jurisdiction of the Degal tɛndaana, the ritual 'owner' of the land of Bunkiuk, the Gɔlibdaana's clan. As the head of Bunkiuk and headman of Tɛnzugu, which includes Degal, he held political authority over all the territory under the ritual jurisdiction of the latter. Hence this strip of territory, as far as the watercourse, belonged to him. The people dwelling there were no concern of his; let them go elsewhere if they wished.

The Yinduurna'aba, a simple and inarticulate old man, who has never mastered the wiles of modern headmanship, protested vehemently. The Gɔlibdaana's arguments were untenable. The ritual jurisdiction of tɛndaanas had nothing to do with the matter. In any case the Zandoya tɛndaana would contest the Degal tɛndaana's claim. Everybody knows that tɛndaanas acknowledge no boundaries. The group in question was a segment of Zandoya. How could they belong to any other political unit than the latter? To talk of their abandoning the land on which their ancestors had dwelt was preposterous. Indeed, the whole situation was something quite unheard of; it could never have occurred before the coming of the white man, when everyone had his acknowledged place in the society. The truth was that the Gɔlibdaana was deliberately trying to entice his people away from him.

There the matter rested. The case was widely discussed and public opinion, except for the Gɔlibdaana's supporters, sided unanimously with the Yinduurna'aba. Five other cases of the same kind came to my notice; and in all of them the verdict of native custom is unequivocal; social affiliation and not alleged territorial boundaries define the extent of a community. Even the new settlements, though they sprawl more widely than the old settlements and are usually surrounded by considerable tracts of uninhabited land, have no defined geographical boundaries. They can and do go on expanding.

The Concept of the Tɛŋ

621 A Tale settlement can only be identified as a unit by reference to the lineage relationships, politico-ritual ties and cleavages, and jural rights and duties, prevailing within it and between it and its neighbours. That is why we have avoided the word 'village', which conjures up the image of a neatly isolated, compact territorial unit. *Tɛŋ* (pl. *tɛs*) is the native concept denoting a settlement; but no English translation can convey its exact sense. In some ways it is reminiscent of the deme of ancient Greece, a coalescence of local association, lineage organization, common religious cult, and political solidarity. None of these factors serves to demarcate a *tɛŋ* absolutely from adjacent *tɛs*; all of them link together neighbouring *tɛs* or parts of *tɛs* as closely in respect of that one category of social relations as they unite segments of the same *tɛŋ*. A settlement is only a relatively autonomous community. One might perhaps define it as the region of maximum overlap of all the categories of social relations found among the Tallensi.

621 619 829 Native linguistic usage reflects this, for *tɛŋ* has a width of reference varying with the situation. A man beginning a discourse on marriage with '*ti tɛŋɔ, nyɛn di pɔya* . . .—In this our land, if you marry a wife . . .'

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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segment of the lineage whose head always takes the title of *Yikpɛmdaan*[1] and has the duty of sacrificing to the collective ancestors of the lineage on behalf of all its members. Among clans that have tendaanas the senior tendaana often has to build his homestead on the site of the founding ancestor's homestead; and when a tendaana dies his successor takes possession of the ancestral homestead and his children move out. But many other arrangements exist all serving the same end of keeping alive the idea of the lineage home.

In the lineage we are discussing the three homesteads of the members stand on ancestral land quite close to the graves of the lineage ancestors, Doohraan, Damtii, and Nɔpugzabɔr. When Deemzeet formally became the head of the lineage his homestead housed the lineage *bɔyar* and other shrines of its common ancestors, and his gateway became the lineage *zanɔr*. The ancestral graves of this lineage are actually on land owned by its members. This is not always the case. Changes in the ownership of land as the population shifts frequently result in the land surrounding the ancestral graves of a lineage-segment passing into the hands of members of another segment of the same lineage, sometimes even into the hands of members of a neighbouring clan. The spot continues, nevertheless, to be regarded as the *daboog* of the lineage whose ancestral graves lie there. The conception of the lineage home is split. For jural and social purposes it is the *de facto* home of the lineage, the place where its head actually resides. The site of the ancestral home, marked by the graves of the ancestors, comes to be regarded primarily as the religious focus of the lineage.

The Influence of Lineage Localization in the Social Life

This fact, that in the older settlements the core of a lineage is a locally organized unit, and that its location is associated with its ancestor spirits on the one hand and its patrimonial land on the other, moulds the entire life of its members. The corporate unity and identity of a lineage is a real and tangible thing when its male members can see one another every day, and when most of them, certainly most of their leading men, can gather together easily and in a very short time to consider and take action in affairs of common interest. Classificatory kinship is no mere formality where an individual's childhood companions are his or her own siblings and ortho-cousins of various degrees; where a man's daily intercourse is carried on chiefly with close agnatic kinsmen, and almost entirely with men of the same patrilineal descent, in his section or settlement; where a man can readily, and indeed is compelled to, by the fact of physical accessibility in a culture lacking rapid and indirect means of communication, have immediate and almost exclusive recourse to his patrilineal kin for help in economic activities, support in maintaining his rights or performing his duties, advice and guidance in the conduct of his life, or solace in misfortune. Ceremonial co-operation is not an empty formula

[1] Tallensi are poor etymologists and various equally plausible etymologies are suggested for this title. The most probable is that it is compounded of *yir*, house; *kpiim*, spirits of the dead, and *daana*, custodian or master. This can be translated 'Custodian of the House of the Spirits of the Lineage Ancestors'.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
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593 siblings whose mothers are or were classificatory or clan sisters have stronger bonds than those whose mothers were not kin. Such ties, intersecting those of patrilineal kinship, are very common. The children of a woman and her *pɔyasoog*[1] (a 'sister' or other kinswoman she brings into the family as a child to look after her baby, and who later marries her husband or another man of the family) feel almost as close to each other as if they were full sisters' children. Most common, however, are cases such as that of Naabdiya and Barimoda, who trace their long-lasting amicable association back to the excellent personal relations of their mothers.

After adolescence, with the attainment of greater economic responsibility, the cleavage between *sunzɔ* siblings becomes more apparent, though it is still largely masked by membership of the same domestic and economic unit. Paternal control and the common needs of the unit hold their divergent interests in check. Sex differences become significant in the same way as with *soog* siblings; but brothers are usually partners in work and often comrades in leisure.

593 865 At this time the pattern of their future relations emerges clearly. Its keynote is a free-and-easy comradeship on terms of equality. Differences of age, formally recognized in the terminology of kinship and socially significant as they are in the distribution of authority, rights, and duties, hardly influence the personal relations of brothers in young manhood, or even later. No Talǝŋ, man, woman, or child, will submit to arbitrary authority without resistance. If any demand made on another person in virtue of superiority of generation, age, or sex is felt to be unreasonable or unjust it will be resisted. Quite small children, obedient as they are, jib at commands from parents or older siblings if they think them unreasonable or unfair.

593 This attitude is particularly strong among siblings. The basis of their social and personal relationships is the principle of sharing (*tɔt*). This principle underlies the social relations of siblings of any degree as well as of corporate units whose relative standing is assimilated to those of siblings, such as co-ordinate lineage segments. As we have noted earlier, it is one of the chief contrasts between the relations of father and son and those of brother and brother. It is summed up in the maxim: 'A man and his father do not share; a man and his brother share (*Nit ni u ba pa tɔta; nit ni u mabiig ntɔt*).'

593 428 423 As will be recollected, this maxim is most clearly illustrated in the rules of inheritance. Brothers are coheirs, even though the effective management of the lands and chattels they inherit from their father is vested in the oldest of them at any given time. Hence if a man has only 'sons' to consider in dealing with property that has come to him by inheritance from his father or brother, he is in theory free to dispose of it as he pleases. But if he is merely the oldest of a group of brothers

[1] Cf. Ch. IV. above.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
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inheriting from their father he will be effectively restrained by his brothers. This rule is constantly met with in discussions of the pledging of property or the sale of land or cattle. Naabdiya summed up these rules very well in reference to the various farms held by the members of his inner lineage of Kunduzoor biis. First there was the home farm originally inherited and left intact by Kunduzoor at the time of his death, now owned by the last of his and his brothers' sons, Na'am. Na'am could, if he wished, sell some or all of this land, since on his death it will pass to men whom he calls 'sons'. 'We (the sons) could protest but we could not restrain him', said Naabdiya, 'but Kunduzoor (i.e. his spirit) would be angry and would slay Na'am.' Then there was some land Kunduzoor had himself acquired and left intact, heritable only by his direct descendants. The largest part of this was now owned by Na'ampa'ahya, the oldest of his true grandsons. 'He cannot sell this land', said Naabdiya; 'we, his brothers (who will inherit after him) could restrain him. In the old days we should not hesitate to draw arrows in order to do so, but now we would drag him to the chief, who would forbid the sale.'

The records of land sales in the past which I collected at Tongo amply confirm Naabdiya's statement. When Na'ampa'ahya inherited this land from the last of Kunduzoor's own sons it was as oldest of a group of brothers. So he had to 'cut off (*yma*)' portions of it for his other brothers. These distributed portions are normally re-amalgamated with the main block of patrimonial land as the brothers inherit from one another and add their portions to the main block. But if friction develops between brothers over a serious issue, it may result in one of them refusing to let his portion revert to the patrimonial land. Such a case occurred in Naabdiya's inner lineage in his father's time. One of Kunduzoor's sons, having become his father's heir, took offence at an apparent slight put upon him by a son of his father's brother. So he took an oath that his portion of the patrimonial land should never revert to the brother who would inherit from him and made a bond with his brothers that they should act likewise. Such a compact could never have been made by a man with his 'sons'. Characteristically, the compact left uneasy consciences. A generation later deaths occurred in the lineage. Diviners said they were a punishment for certain actions that resulted from this compact and Kunduzoor's grandsons were commanded to annul it. They could no longer do so in fact, but a token annulment and an expiatory sacrifice to their grandfather were considered sufficient.

In accordance with this principle we find that duties and rewards are distributed among siblings on a basis of equality of status, though in proportion to such distinguishing personal attributes as age, ability, need, and in conformity with the demands of the situation. When brothers work together as a team in the production of the household's food resources, each is expected to contribute the maximum share he is

6: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1937 FE11 Tallensi FE11

About noon, the owner of the pool arrives, usually quite unceremonially, followed by kinsmen and kinswomen. The owner of the first pool to be fished in 1934 was a minor chief of the *Namoos* group, the *Bolgnaana*, who had only recently been installed. To mark this, his first fishing expedition, he arrived escorted by musicians and in the full splendour of his red cap, the prime badge of his rank, and a gaudy gown. The musicians at once became the centre of an eager crowd which soon disposed itself in a dance, while the chief proceeded to his seat under a tree near the bank, the traditional place "where my ancestors (former chiefs) used to sit," he explained. The owner of a pool always registers his claims, in the first instance, by thus taking up his traditional seat, though he need not remain there once the fishing commences.

The multitude is now all keyed up, ready for the plunge. People begin to move about, a tumult of conversation rises from the far side of the river, showing how intense is the anticipatory excitement. As yet not a single person has dared to enter the pool, except at its very fringe to get a drink of water. But the most important preparatory activity is still to come—the magic. The owner is discussing this and other matters with half a dozen elders and men of rank, kinsmen and clansmen from several *Namoos* settlements, or, if he belongs to the *Tallis* group, from *Tallis* settlements. The groups never mix in this sort of situation, in which political, legal, and ritual prerogatives are canvassed. Nevertheless the discussion is not private, nor is its subject matter stereotyped. But its purpose is clear: to affirm the owner's rights. The nature and basis of these rights were formulated explicitly and with vigour in one such discussion: So and so, the chief, owns this pool. His ancestors held the chieftainship before him and owned the pool; he was invested by the Paramount Chief according to the prescribed and traditionally ordained procedure; therefore he owns the pool, as his ancestors did before him, and is consequently entitled to the traditionally fixed tribute, the first fish of respectable size which anyone catches. Nobody must cheat or fight about a fish, as was done in the previous expedition. All this is repeated over and over in rhetorical monologue by each member of the *extempore* council. It is, of course, perfectly well known to everybody, and, what is more curious, the speakers seem to address themselves entirely to their own circle, some of whom will not even enter the water, and all of whom will receive a share of the chief's tribute if the catch is a good one. The purpose of the discussion is apparently not publicity but psychological—assuring the owner that his rights are acknowledged, encouraging him, demonstrating to him that the most respected citizens are on his side and on the side of the traditional guarantees of property rights.

Now comes the crucial act of the series leading up to the actual fishing, the performance of the magical rites. The officiant has been waiting for the owner's word to start at the appointed, traditionally hallowed place, on the bank or by the waterside, surrounded by a number of men and boys of his own lineage, all descendants of the ancestor who originally acquired the magic. There are a number of typical features—

6: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1937 FE11 Tallensi FE11

and to give moral support to a man of their own rank, members of his own family, and the *bayardaana*, who, in addition to the sacrificial animals he receives from the owner, is entitled to a present of fish.

Why then do owners of pools call out communal fishing expeditions? They themselves say "because our ancestors did so." A more adequate explanation suggests itself from an examination of the fishing situation in relation to the technique of fishing and to the conditions of ownership of pools. Fishing with hook and line is practised by a few people throughout the year, but the technique is rudimentary, suitable for the capture of an occasional fish and not for the provision of a regular supply. The net technique, on the other hand, cannot be satisfactorily employed by individuals. It is essentially a communal technique. There is thus a practical necessity for communal fishing.

Principally, however, fishing is correlated with the ownership of pools. With few exceptions appointment to a chieftainship by the Paramount Chief of the Division constitutes the title to the ownership of a particular pool. Of the exceptions, I have record of one authentic case of a pool owned by a single lineage and transmitted according to the laws of inheritance. Tradition said that it had been purchased by the ancestor of this lineage from a chief in a time of severe famine. To organize a communal fishing expedition is thus a prerogative of chieftainship[1]. It maintains the prestige and proclaims the status of a chief beyond the confines of his own limited territory. Striking proof of this occurred when the Chief of Yinduri announced an expedition to his pool. When the people arrived there, the pool was found to be so choked with weeds that fishing was impossible. Someone from another settlement suggested fishing a neighbouring pool, belonging to another chief, instead. The people of Yinduri were so incensed by this affront to the dignity of their chief that they attacked and beat the offender. Besides, such an act of communal poaching would have exposed them to the penalty of a heavy fine.

Chiefs, consequently, desire large attendances drawn from a wide radius at fishing expeditions. Actually, however, the territorial range of the attendance at any expedition is limited by the factor of contiguity—the further a settlement is from that of the owner of the pool, the smaller will be the contingent coming from it; while the social constitution of the attendance is conditioned by the principles of kinship. Thus, a man will always accompany an expedition arranged by his mother's brother or other kinsman, even if he is from a distant settlement, since he would probably be permitted to keep his catch, and would be less drawn to expeditions under the auspices of non-kinsmen. Similarly, the *Namoos* clans turn out in far greater numbers to expeditions arranged by *Namoos* chiefs than to those of the *Tallis* chiefs. Another factor influencing the social constitution of fishing expeditions is that people tend to go in family parties.

[1] A commoner who owns a river, as in the case cited above, naturally follows the general practice and on the occasion of the fishing expedition enjoys a prestige equivalent to that of a chief.

7:Lynn G-5 (1932-1936) 1937 FE11 Tallensi FE11

scattered compounds, or whether closer building between compounds, on land previously available for farming, enforced the system because of the increasing distance to bush land. The result is the same, however, from our point of view. Farmers living on the edge of the densely populated areas frequently have bush farms, which are farmed by shifting methods of cultivation, as well as compound farms which are farmed continuously.

Land Tenure.

The customs associated with the acquisition and retention of land are intimately bound up with the religion of the people. Land is recognized as having a "spirit" which requires placating to deliver of its goodness. This is done through the "tindana" (Nankani), who is the intermediary between the "spirit of the land" and the people. It is frequently heard that "Chiefs command people, not land", and a Chief approaches the land through the "tindana". Every area has a tindana; if an area develops to an unmanageable size, a new "tindana" may be appointed by the tindana who exercised authority there before it developed. The area administered by a Chief, however, is fixed; so that Chiefs' and tindanas' boundaries do not necessarily coincide.

To acquire a new area of land, *i.e.*, land not known to be claimed by anyone, a prospective occupant will generally first approach the Chief of the district and state his requirements. If the Chief is satisfied as to the probity of the applicant he will refer him to the tindana, who has the final say in the matter. An application is seldom, if ever, refused. A suitable offering is made through the tindana to propitiate the spirit of the land, and the tindana may indicate a site for the new compound, and make suggestions with regard to the crops to be planted. The question of rent does not arise since there are no "money crops" and agricultural land has no value in the economic sense; there are a number of seasonal dues, however, given voluntarily to the spirit of the land, through the tindana.

In demarcating areas, such natural objects as stone outcrops, water-courses, and trees, are observed. This explains the reason for the irregular outline of most farms. Once land has been conveyed through the tindana, it is held in perpetuity by the family receiving it. Presumably, when a compound is first built in a bush area, sufficient land exists immediately around it to satisfy the requirements of the family. When the family grows up and the elder sons marry, they may choose to build compounds of their own. A new compound is made as close to the parent compound as possible, either upon a new land acquired from the tindana, or upon land

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allotted by the father. On the death of the head of the family the male survivors inherit the land in varying proportions as tenants in common with benefits of survivorship. The eldest son assumes the responsibilities of his father and may elect to live either in his father's compound, or to remain in his own. In either case he will receive a large share of his father's farm and retain also an interest in his own. After a number of generations the distribution and ownership of land becomes very complicated in congested areas and considerable fragmentation of holdings takes place. Land not in use may be lent to another for farming, but often with a stipulation to plant non-exhausting crops.

Distribution of Population.

The distribution of population is very variable both from one political area to another and within each area. If one takes the the district as a whole, 3,559 square miles, the population by the 1931 census (7) is shown to be 406,566 persons; this gives a density of population of 114 per square mile (c.f. South Mamprusi 23 per square mile, and Western Dagomba 15). It is estimated that at least one-third of the total area is uninhabited, and much of this is fertile alluvial land near to rivers, where tse-tse flies abound. In other areas ruins are found for which slave raiding, sleeping sickness, and yellow fever, are variously held responsible. Table I below gives the distribution of tribes and population.

Table 1.—Distribution of Population in North Mamprusi.

Political Area	Area, square miles	Total Population	Density of Population per sq. ml.	Tribes
Navrongo ...	1,551	120,870	78	Nankani, Kassena, and Builsa.
Zuarungu ...	781	133,981	172	Nankani, Tallensi, and Nabdam.
Kusasi and Br. Togoland ...	807 420	110,614 41,101	137 98	Kusasi, Busanga, Bemoba and strangers.
Total ...	3,559	406,566	114	—

Political Organisation.

History shows that North Mamprusi was continually harrassed from outside (8) until comparatively recent times. The Mamprusis in the South, who were at one time a powerful and organised tribe,